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A

DEFENCE

OF THE

CONSTITUTION of ENGLAND

AGAINST THE

LIBELS

THAT HAVE BEEN LATELY PUBLISHED ON IT;

PARTICULARLY IN

PAINE'S PAMPHLET

ON THE

RIGHTS of MAN.

Audi alteram partem.
Hear the other side, good People of England.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR P. BYRNE J. MOORE, J. JONES, A. GRUEBER.
R. WHITE.

M. DCC. XCI.

BRITISH MUSEUM

INTRODUCTION.

THE preſent period is big with events; ſome ſay of a diſaſtrous, ſome ſay of an happy nature. Perhaps a good deal may depend on the uſe made of the Liberty of the Preſs—as people are accuſtomed to think and act according as they are taught by thoſe publications with which the country ſwarms!

Since the concluſion of the American War, a leaven of ſedition has been in fermentation in all Europe, and particularly in England and France. The Government of the latter, already tottering, has been overturned by it. The Government of England is attacked by the ſame means; for it is to be obſerved, that before the Revolution, the Preſs of France uſurped a free-

dom, and publiſhed numerous pamphlets on the *Rights of Man*, which were circulated and read with great eagerneſs.

And the ſame miſchief is now attempted in England, by the ſame means.

It is to be lamented, that a furious zealot, with more imagination than judgement, and with more concern for his trade as an orator than for the intereſt of the country, has given occaſion to theſe deſigning apoſtles of ſedition, to poiſon the ears of the people, which are now open to every rumor, that promiſes a general confuſion and ſcramble, in which all orders, ranks, and properties, are to be confounded, and where force and violence alone will prevail.

The moſt formidable and miſchievous of theſe, are the author of *Leſſons to a Young Prince*; and the American Spy, Mr. *Thomas Paine*.

Whether or not the public ſuſpicion hath fallen on the author of the Leſſons, is not of conſequence; he ſeems to regard his ſafety and has ſettled the price of it with his publiſher. He has alſo guarded that publiſher by the art of his compoſition and ſtile.

It was the deſign of the author of the preſent work, particularly and elaborately to conſider the Leſſons, as they are an inſidious and elaborate work; but he has dropped it for the preſent, and will only obſerve, the writer covers his deſigns with the affectation of inſtructing the Prince, and throws duſt in the eyes of the Public, by touching

ing on his imprudence, and ſketching with fine ſatire the characters of thoſe who miſlead him.

This is prepoſſeſſing his readers in his favour; this is guilding the dangerous cup; or it is preparing a pleaſant vehicle to convey his poiſon.

Under a pretence that all things are running to ruin in all Europe, he *leſſons* the Prince to look at home; but he takes care, he ſhall look through the glaſſes he has coloured for him.

The Engliſh, he ſays, had a glorious Conſtitution in the days of Alfred: and it muſt be confeſſed, he gives the deſcription of it, not only with probability, but the appearance of ſcience and truth. But this is a repetition of the art of Chatterton, who wiſhed to ſtamp his own inventions with inſtant immortality, by aſcribing them to Rowley. And the effect has been the ſame, for the wonder of fools has been excited; the book hath rapidly ſold, and every man who believes in the legend is ready for ſedition, in behalf, not of the ſpeculative *Rights of Man*, but the *juſt inheritence of Engliſhmen* from the days of the immortal Alfred.

This Conſtitution was deſtroyed by William the Conqueror, and an arbitrary Government put in its place.

At the Revolution in 1688, he aſſerts that inſtead of reſtoring the Conſtitution, a fabric was conſtructed, for the King, the Nobility, the

Clergy, and the landed Gentry, who make a *Market* of the Houſe of Commons.

So that the Conſtitution, the boaſt of Engliſhmen, the envy of Europe, the model on which the Americans and French have practiſed their ſkill—is a phantom, a non-entity an impoſition. Nay he poſitively and repeatedly declares, *the Engliſh have no Conſtitution at all*, and that what is ſo called, is an engine of fraud and oppreſſion in the hands of the King and the Ariſtocracy, for their own, and not for the public advantage.

With all his art and addreſs, he falls into a contradiction little ſhort of a *Bull*. He adviſes the Engliſh to follow the example of the French in pulling an old houſe about their ears; and then tells them, they have no houſe to pull down.

To avoid the danger attending a direct libel on the King and the legiſlature, he crouds all his abuſe of them into a devotional prayer, which he has the audacious impiety to put in the mouth of Majeſty. And here, if any where, we think the cloven foot of the fiend appears; for it ſerves, what it has already been his purpoſe to expoſe Government and Religion to ridicule and contempt.

Whether ſuch attempts ſhould be tolerated, is a queſtion that will be conſidered by and by. It is now intended only to give an idea of the work and writer, by way of guarding the peo-

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ple againſt thoſe who offer them poiſon, in the diſguiſe of kindneſs and benevolence, and in order to trace the origin of thoſe dogmas on which Paine declaims with the zeal and fury of Hugh Peters or Thomas Bradbury. The account of the Conſtitutions of America by the writer of the Leſſons to a Prince may be juſt, or they may be otherwiſe. It is not intended to examine them at this time. They are given *by him* only as inſults to England, ſuppoſed to be in a ſtate of degradation; and to ſtimulate a ſpirit of diſcontent and ſedition.

The leſſon on Burke's *pernicious* rhapſody has ſome fine irony; and as the Critical Reviewers have juſtly obſerved, it is pity it ſhould be degraded by the peculiar opinions of the writer.

Burke is an advocate for divine indefeaſible right; and for a Government by *compromiſes* of various ariſtocracies, with arbitrary power on the throne, and popery in the church.

The Writer of the Leſſons is for a Government by an organiſed Conſtitution; on the idea of which he certainly has beſtowed great ingenuity, learning, and pains; and his delineations of it are ſcientific, and his proofs expreſſed in brilliant and elegant language.

If he had confined himſelf to his theory, his talents would have been admired: but he has artfully mingled declamation and ſatire, intended to ſap the foundation of the preſent Government:

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of which the author of the preſent ſtrictures will take proper notice when more at leiſure; at preſent Paine's libel calls for his more immediate attention.

Without the genius, or learning, or knowledge of the author of the Leſſons, he may do more miſchief. For inſtead of beſtowing pains on the examination of principles, he borrows them ready made from the other, and from the French philoſophers, and forms them into the materials of a lampoon; the ſcurrility of which againſt all ranks and all Government is *treaſonable*, and the language of which being throughout low and Billingſgate, is calculated for the comprehenſion and malignity of the common people.

This ſeems a ſufficient reaſon for putting the laſt firſt; becauſe the pamphlet of Paine, though containing *no food for the mind*, has *fuel for the paſſions*; and though its effect will paſs away in a few months, yet in that time, it may ſtimulate ignorance, for which it is calculated, to ſedition and miſchief.

It may be proper the reader ſhould know, that Mr. Thomas Paine, from having been a Secretary to the American Congreſs during the Rebellion, when no man would have been its Secretary who could have procured a maintenance otherwiſe—is advanced to the honorable office of an *American Crimp*: the *honorable* employment of which is to ſteal inventions, and to decoy artiſts from Europe to America on plauſible and falſe pretences.

pretences.—This office was firſt executed by Franklin, while employed in agencies, and he had many pupils in his ſchool. John the Painter was hanged, for attempting to ſet fire to the Dock-yard; but Doctor Bancroft, Thomas Paine, &c. &c. who filled our newſpapers, magazines, and reviews, with ſeditious paragraphs and articles, were only obliged to have recourſe to temporary abſence and flight: and by blending themſelves with the diſſenters, and letting out their literary labours for moderate prices, they retained their footing in England, and threw their poiſon into thoſe ſtreams which meandered through the land.

If America is a free country; if it is the land flowing with milk and honey, why are Bancroft, Paine, and many other Americans lurking in this country?

When John the Painter recognized his friend Bancroft at the Salopian Coffee-houſe, Bancroft took to his heels; formally reſigned his office of lampooning this country in the Monthly Review, and in ſeveral newſpapers, and ſought his ſafety in the houſe of Franklin, at Paſſy.

When the jobs of the American war terminated in a ſhameful compromiſe, a ſort of embaſſy was appointed, and a project was conceived to raiſe America ſuddenly by the repeal of our act of navigation.

When the infernal treachery was defeated by the ſagacity of Lord Hawkeſbury, Congreſs dropped all idea of open negociation: and ſubſtituted

that

that of private treachery. All envoys and ambaſſadors were withdrawn; and the country was infeſted with *crimps* and *ſpies*. Mr. Thomas Paine holds a diſtinguiſhed rank in this infamous fraternity; and his buſineſs in this country is to take inſtructions from Bancroft, and others who reſide here in equivocal capacities, how to ſeduce artizans, to convey tools, and to export articles to America, which are to be paid for at the day of judgement.

The Iſraelites, when they quitted Egypt, made free with the property of the inhabitants: the Americans are modern Iſraelites, and whatever they can obtain from England by artifice or fraud, is an offering to the Lord of ſweet-ſmelling ſavour; and Paine is one of the prieſts by which it is offered.

When the reader has underſtood who this Paine is, what his views are, and the origin of his principles and maxims, from a philoſophy, he neither reſpects nor *underſtands*, he will be prepared to conſider the firſt ſection of this work.

SEC.

SECTION I.

The Engliſh poſſeſs a Conſtitution.

THE firſt aſſertion of this kind has been made by the author of the *Leſſons to a Young Prince*; at leaſt, the preſent writer knows of none prior: but he has made it a ſubject of hiſtorical and ſcientific diſquiſition. Payne is neither a man of ſcience, nor is he much acquainted with hiſtory. He borrows the idea from his maſter, and lowers it by his language to the level of the vulgar. Thus are the diſſertations of Don Quixote rendered pernicious to the peaſantry by the commentaries of Sancho Panza; but the ſyſtem of both is ill founded and extravagant.

It may eaſily be perceived, that Paine does not know the meaning of the word *Conſtitution*; and that he ventures his aſſertions on the credit of the *Philoſophers* of England and France; for no man will ſuſpect Payne himſelf of philoſophy.

Q. What is a Conſtitution?

A. A ſyſtem of fundamental laws, appointing the offices of the government of a country?

Q. Who

Q. Who have a right of forming theſe laws?

This muſt be anſwered by another queſtion—Who *can* form them?

Can the common people? No.

Have they ever formed them? No.

On what ground is the right attributed to the people? On none, either of reaſon or hiſtory. But of this more uſe will be made in a future anſwer to the *ſelf-appointed* inſtructor of the prince.

It is now only intended to blunt the pernicious effects of the frothy libel of the day.

That the Engliſh have a ſyſtem of fundamental laws, deſcribing the offices of government, is a fact capable of demonſtration.

The King, at his coronation, anſwers *conditional* queſtions, and takes a *preſcribed* oath.

The Houſe of Lords is formed by *fixed* rules; and its powers and privileges are defined by ſuch laws are as not variable.

The Houſe of Commons is filled by a popular election, which, though perhaps ſubject to objections and abuſes, is, however, according to *fundamental* regulations, which are parts of the *conſtitution*.

The Great Charter; the Bill of Rights; the Habeas Corpus Act; the Trial by Jury &c. &c. are durable and fixed parts, which have been occaſionally added to this building, which a *ſpeculative philoſophy* is now affecting to call a phantom and a non-entity.

Mr.

Mr. Thomas Paine hath more prudence than to truſt to this philoſophy in the execution of his American errands: but it coſts an American Saint little to aver a *falſehood*, and he will forgive his maſters for miſleading him.

To render this truth as plain, as the lampoon of Paine; let us take his method, and compare our Conſtitution with that of France, which he acknowledges to be ſuch.

The King of France always hath, and probably ever will, take an oath at his Coronation.

The fundamental laws, which are to remain as component parts of the Conſtitution, are paſſed with his *conceſſion* and *conſent*; in the manner of the Great Charter in England, the Bill of Rights, and the Habeas Corpus Act.

The legiſlature, like our Houſe of Commons, is by election; and the manner of that election is in both countries a fundamental law, and a part of the *Conſtitution*.

What advantage may be ſuppoſed in one manner of election over another, is not the preſent queſtion; which is merely on the exiſtence of *any* Conſtitution in England; which Mr. Thomas Paine hath poſitively denied, on the authority of philoſophers which he probably doth not underſtand; and with a diſregard to truth, which would diſhonour any but his own character and employment.

SECTION II.

That the Kings of England are not elective.

IN reſcuing Dr. Price from the fangs of Mr. Burke, Mr. Thomas Paine condeſcends to give an opinion of him, by ſaying he is good hearted. In Paine's eſtimation, there is but one ſenſible man in the world; and that is himſelf; and though he borrows in every page of his pamphlet, he would inſinuate, that he owes all to his own genius; he pretends he never reads, and he never acknowledges his obligations.

He is, however, only a commentator on the doctrines of Dr. Price, when he pours his ſcurrility on the Royal Family.

It is not intended to take Mr. Thomas Paine into the ancient Britiſh and Saxon annals; for it would be taking him out of his way, and might require the accompliſhments of a ſcholar: of which he hath none. It may be ſufficient to declare, that the Crown was hereditary in the Britiſh and Saxon dynaſties; and that the inheritance was not interrupted,

interrupted, except in times of extreme neceſſity and violence.

The deſcent of the Houſes which have lately occupied the Engliſh Throne, has been from William the Conqueror: and it offends the delicacy of Mr. Thomas Paine, that William ſhould have been reputed a *Baſtard*.

America during its connection with England, was the ſink into which it poured all its filth. The convicts who were not immediately executed were tranſported into that country; and the fair race of *patriots* and *ſaints* may be generally traced to *tranſported thieves*; is this circumſtance imagined to affect the character or inheritance of any American of the preſent day? Why ſhould it be reproachful to a King of England to deſcend from the illegitimate branch of a *Sovereign* Houſe; and not infamous in a Preſident of the American Congreſs, to be deſcended from an Engliſh tranſported *Thief*.

As this circumſtance, does not render the *inheritance* of the Royal Family queſtionable, the ſettlement at the Revolution in 1688 may be conſidered—Mr. Thomas Paine arraigns that event with his uſual modeſty.

It might be made a queſtion, of what concern the origin and principles of our Government can be to an American *Crimp*. But allowing that in the intervals of his *honourable* employment his benevolence may urge him to contrive and de-

viſe

vise for our welfare, his opinions may be weighed and examined.

He says, that the Convention at the Revolution had some proper powers, and *assumed* others to which they had no right. The meaning of which is, that whatever regulations of the Convention suit the inclinations of Mr. Thomas Paine, he pronounces to be according to the *legitimate* powers; and whatever are disagreeable to this *great* man, he condemns as proceeding from *assumed* powers.

Now as the public will had no organ but the Convention; and as the public approbation is expressed only by general *acquiescence*; it is difficult to imagine an event more popular, and better calculated to be the foundation of a free Government, than the Revolution.

It is true the Convention had nothing in commission from the people, who were even not in a condition to furnish instructions. King James had violated the *terms* of the inheritance; and to prevent the total ruin of the Country, the Prince of Orange (a Dutchman, not the descendant of a transported *Convict* to America) a Prince of great renown, and married to the eldest daughter of the infatuated King, was invited by the principal families of the kingdom to assist in its settlement.

Violent diseases require violent remedies; the inheritance of the Crown was necessarily interrupted. It had been rendered hereditary, with the public *acquiescence* of many centuries, which

may

may be called public *approbation*; and for the beſt reaſons as it prevented competition and civil war on the election and appointment of every new king.

But as the means are not ſuperior to the end; and as the end of every political inſtitution is the public ſecurity or public happineſs—where the fundamental law of hereditary right became dangerous to the whole State, and menaced the public happineſs—the greater reaſon prevailed over the leſſer, and the *right of the inheritance* was turned into a collateral channel, to preſerve the nation from deſpotiſm and ruin.

The Convention, however, after having ſubmitted to this neceſſity, and ſelected that branch of the Royal Family moſt likely to coincide with the public will, renewed a *declaration of the fundamental law*, which they (not having the new light of Mr. Thomas Paine) conſidered as part of the Engliſh *Conſtitution*, and they annexed the penalties of *treaſon*, &c. to any attempt to interrupt or diſpute the right of inheritance in the Royal Family.

This diſpleaſes the quandum Secretary to the American Congreſs, whom they have degraded into a much leſs honourable employment.

As he pines at the proſperity of England, which has not been blaſted by the numereus propheſies and prayers of him and his countrymen, ſince the termination of the American War, he regrets the ſettlement of the Crown in peaceable

ſucceſſion

ſucceſſion and wiſhes us involved in the frequent miſeries of an elective monarchy.

How ſuch a being can ſuppoſe that his wiſhes can procure him any thing but lodgings with his old friend Lord George Gordon—would be wonderful, if his vanity were not equal to his folly.

His pamphlet called *Common Senſe* came out, juſt as America was ripe for the declaration of independence; and he has ever ſince had the folly to imagine and to ſay, that his pamphlet was the *occaſion* of the declaration.

He ſagaciouſly ſuppoſes, that he now ſees the *ſigns of the times* in England; and has the great modeſty to expect that his pamphlet here will delude the common people, produce confuſion, and occaſion a Revolution. It would be difficult to find in Bedlam a madman that would conceive and utter ſuch folly.

But it is very extraordinary that Mr. Thomas Paine ſhould be *gifted* and *inſpired* only in political matters. He has been long traverſing this Country, endeavouring to learn its inventions; and the mode of conſtructing a bridge over one of the rivers of Philadelphia, which has hitherto baffled the talents of all his Country, he hopes to convey to it. But though he is not an apt ſcholar in the mechanic inventions, according to the moſt favourable reports even of his friends the diſſenters, he is ready to pull our political houſe

about

about our ears, and to direct us to produce another by enchantment.

And the first blessings he would bestow on us, is an elective Crown; as he considers the act of settlement as the effect of assumed powers.

Pray, Mr. Thomas Paine, what powers are those, by which the National Assembly of France form their present Constitution, which is *honored* with *your* approbation?

They met with express instructions to assist the King in rectifying abuses and removing certain and specified grievances. Instead of adhering to their commission, they have wholly overlooked it; they pulled down the whole of the ancient Government and they are erecting one totally new. As they had no powers from the people for these purposes, they have acted by *assumed* powers, and are justly under the imputation with which Mr. Thomas Paine would reproach the Convention 1688.

It is possible that the measures of the National Assembly of France may be sanctioned by the public *acquiescence*, and it is certain those of the Convention Parliament have been by the acquiescence and *approbation* of England for a century. The provisions and acts of our Revolution are therefore as justifiable and as worthy of being pronounced *constitutional*, as those of the National Assembly of France, and

this even with Mr. Thomas Paine, ought to be ſufficient authority for ranking the act of ſettlement among the permanent parts of the Engliſh Conſtitution.

SECT-

SECTION III.

That the Engliſh Houſe of Lords is not a Nuiſance.

THE principal object of the ſpleen and malice of the levellers, from the fifth monarchy-men down to the reformers of the preſent day, is the order of Nobility, and the honors and privileges of the Houſe of Lords; and there are no people more malignant in their aſperſions on nobility than the Americans; and for a very good reaſon, which has been hinted above, and which ſhall be explained by a true ſtory.

One of the moſt ſucceſsful of the American adventurers had reſided in ſeveral parts for the ſake of making advantages by the ſeveral ſituations. He quitted Boſton with a little money, and a good deal of Maſſachuſet hypocriſy and perfidy; and ſettled ſouthward, where ſeveral lucky ſtrokes in the practice of ſmuggling in the Spaniſh Settlements, furniſhed him with a large fortune. He then turned his thoughts to England; but his recommendation from the ſaints being to the Old Jewry, Little Jewry Lane, and St. Mary

Axe, his family found, they were only exchanging one ſcene of perfidious cant and deſigning hypocriſy for another; and they with great difficulty prevailed on the old ſanctified ſmuggler to remove to the weſt-end of the Town.

In the City, their coach had only a cypher after the faſhion of the Quakers; but it was now neceſſary to have arms; and how to have them, was a difficulty which they did not know how to get over. The late Mr. Edmonſon was applied to; and on hearing the name, he adviſed them either to venture on the Arms of a family of the ſame name, or to trace back their own with the hopes of finding out the relationſhip. If this had been explained to the old man, he would immediately have put an end to the inquiry; but the ſon purſued it with eagerneſs, until he brought it to Newgate, where the founder of the American houſe had been under ſentence of death, and had been ſent on his travels to America by the King's Pardon.

This being a common origin of American families who poſſeſs wealth, it prevents the common ambition of families, which is as uſeful as it is natural.

That it is natural, the hiſtory of all ages and nations clearly prove, even the early parts of the hiſtory of the Bible repreſent mankind as immediately cluſtering into families; ſome deſervedly and honourably diſtinguiſhed, and ſome reprobated and degraded.

By

By this means, the principle of honor is added to the force of the laws; and it has ever been found a purer ſource of virtue and of noble actions, than any thing that could be furniſhed by the fear of the puniſhments inflicted by the laws.

A difference was made, ſoon after the creation, between the families of Abel and Cain; and education added its aſſiſtance: the difference of thoſe families may continue at this day. The tribes among the Jews; the orders and claſſes in all the nations of the Eaſt, derive their origin from this natural and wiſe propenſity to honor good, and to diſhonor bad actions, and to furniſh a motive from honor to particular families to diſtinguiſh themſelves for virtues, which would not probably be produced by the puniſhments of the laws.

This policy hath prevailed all over the world, and will probably prevail, with the exception of countries ſo circumſtanced as America, where the people *muſt forget their anceſtors*. The future Colonies of Botany Bay will follow their example; they will have no eſcutcheons or armorial bearings, they will be Republicans and Levellers of the moſt determined nature; and their future Spies, Crimps, and Aſſaſſins, will tread exactly in the ſteps of thoſe which have been ſent here from America, to ſet fire to our docks, to diſſeminate ſedition, to diſturb our peace, and to introduce that confuſion of which their Country would endeavour to profit.

That

That the appointment of honors and rewards is a better motive to virtue than the fear of puniſhment is an acknowledged truth; and on this truth, the utility of an order of Nobility is founded.

Diſtinctions and honors affecting the mind and imagination are wiſely ſubſtituted for pecuniary rewards, as being leſs expenſive to the State.

In Greece and Rome, actions of great public ſervice were rewarded with crowns, the privilege of wearing rings, and at a certain age, admiſſion into the public councils. The virtues thus rewarded, became the care and ſtudy of the families ſo diſtinguiſhed: and the utility of the policy was great and unqueſtionable.

In modern times, the modes of diſtinction and of conferring hónors have been various, but the principle and the views of uſefulneſs are the ſame.

Among the late proviſions of this kind, the Engliſh Houſe of Lords is the moſt reſpectable and the moſt honorable: it is the *Temple of Honor* for the moſt ſplendid talents in legiſlation and prudence, in eloquence and legal ingenuity; for the valor of our Admirals and Generals; and for the learning of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of our Clergy.

To prove that it enlivens ambition, and ſtimulates induſtry, is to prove that fire warms, or the ſun ſhines.

That

That an ancient and venerable Inſtitution hath been neglected, that abuſes have crept into it, and that theſe abuſes, and not the Inſtitution, are the ſubjects of cavil to ſuch miſerable *Witlings* as Mr. Thomas Paine, is not an uncommon fate.

To render honors and rewards motives of education in the families which are honored and rewarded, the original proviſions of the Inſtitution ſhould have been ſtrictly preſerved.

The King, who is the fountain of honors, not only conferred them, but he was ever after conſidered as the Guardian of the enobled Family; accordingly, nothing could affect that Family without his knowledge; and he was ſuppoſed particularly intereſted in its marriages and alliances. The contamination of family principles by improper marriage was called the contamination of blood, and this idea being taken literally and ridiculed, the royal ſuperintendance has been ſuſpended, and the principal purpoſe of Nobility loſt to the world.

One of our Nobility at this time is married to a woman who was many years what they call a ſoldier's Trull, and followed the camp *in publicum uſum.* She crept by degrees to the bed of an officer, and at laſt arrived at her preſent ſtation; the conſequences are too obvious to be particularly inſiſted upon. The family will be infeſted for generations with the low and abominable vices, which are tranſmitted from ſuch a wretch to her unfortunate children; and through them

them to future ages. In this, and ſuch caſes, the privileges of Nobility are not only loſt, but turned againſt the public intereſt, and by being made the nurſeries of vice inſtead of thoſe of virtue, they are juſtly ſubjected to cenſure and indignation.

This obſervation may be extended to thoſe depraved Nobility who marry the caſt-off miſtreſſes of miniſters. All theſe evils are owing to the renunciation of wardſhip, to which Charles II. ſubmitted, in order to raiſe a little money—and if it is not reſumed, the indiſcretion, and degradations of the Nobility will defeat the purpoſe of their firſt inſtitution, and ſink them within the reach of the Billingſgate reproaches of Paine.

The political uſe of the Houſe of Lords, as a balance in the Conſtitution; as a Court in a dernier reſort; and as giving judgement on State offenders—will be conſidered by the author when he comes to remark on a work of more laſting, and therefore of more pernicious influence than any that can be written by Paine. Conſiderations of this kind would be above Paine's capacity, and that of his admirers. Paine writes to the vulgar, to the mob; and the author muſt meet him on vulgar ground.

SEC-

SECTION IV.

That the Houſe of Commons is a Repreſentation of the People.

TO become members of a ſociety; and in a free ſociety to have the capacity of chuſing repreſentatives, ſome bond to the country is neceſſary; ſome circumſtance which may attach the inhabitant to the country, and which may give him an intereſt in it. This is generally that of being a fixed houſholder, or a proprietor of land. Thoſe who can give no ſuch proofs of attachment and intereſt, are juſtly conſidered as deſtined to ſervility, as vagabonds, and unfit to be ranked among citizens.

In England, this qualification is forty ſhillings a year. In France, even after a revolution and reformation on a plan approved by the *great* Mr. Paine, the qualification is not much leſs; for it is eſtimated by the contribution to Government; in England, it is eſtimated by the yearly income.

So

So that every man in England, poſſeſſing ſolid and fixed, which is landed property, to the value of forty ſhillings a year, is a citizen, a conſtituent, and, in the language of the faſhionable philoſophy, a member of the ſovereignty of a free ſtate.

This, one would think, is laying the foundation of liberty ſufficiently broad, and Engliſhmen with ſuch a privilege, which is ſo extenſively diſuſed, might ſcorn the attempts of American Vagabonds or American Spies, to brand them with the imputation and the reproach of ſlavery.

It is true, monied and mercantile intereſts and properties have been created, which have no privilege of repreſentation; and better reaſoners than Mr. Thomas Paine have decided that they are too uncertain and changeable for repreſentations.

The rotten boroughs are alſo blemiſhes *in appearance*, if not in fact; ſome of them are only in appearance: for if the art of ſending repreſentatives perfectly independent is the moſt deſireable effect of election, the rotten boroughs produce it with more certainty than any county in England. A gentleman who buys his ſeat is certainly independent; and of what county-member can that be truly affirmed? Let the rotten boroughs be removed in God's name, and the repreſentation of England will be nearly the ſame with that of France: and if we take France for a model, it is

to

to be hoped Mr. Thomas Paine will do us the honor to be content with us.

Mr. Thomas Paine's maſters, the modern philoſophers of France and England, go farther than he has abilities or knowledge to follow. They talk of organization, and forming a moral and political body; and producing public will, &c. &c.—all theſe things ſhall be conſidered at leiſure. Paine's pamphlet is a *cracker* to rouſe and alarm fools; and when it has gone off in ſmoke, it leaves not a trace on the mind or the memory.

The deſign of this haſty anſwer is to prevent the effect of immediate ſurprize on weak minds, and to beſpeak their attention to the diſcuſſions and meaſures of reaſonable men, even thoſe who advance the principles which are adopted by Paine, but who advance them like Scholars and Gentlemen.

Attempts have been made to remedy the defects in the repreſentation of the people; and the ſubject very probably is not yet given up.

Perhaps the attempts would have been ſucceſsful, if they had not been uſed to ſerve the views of diſaffected parties, who wiſhed to harraſs the adminiſtration of the day out of the offices they wanted to enjoy.

While the nation was thrown into a fermentation, pamphlets appeared denying the power of Parliament to reform itſelf—whoſe titles the author of this work has forgot, but whoſe contents have

have not been forgot by Paine; for he has borrowed plentifully of thoſe contents, and with his uſual American gratitude, which unthankfully converts all it can purloin into its own property.

In this confuſion of opinions, it was difficult to chuſe any opinion; nor did the choice ſeem very neceſſary. For though the heads of the ſelfiſh parties, particularly thoſe in oppoſition to Government, aſſembled their friends and formed aſſociations through the greateſt part of the kingdom; the great body of the people of England beheld the whole buſtle with indifference and unconcern; and that indifference was very properly conſidered by the exiſting Government, as a proof of their content under the preſent method of repreſentation.

To inſure the remedy for us when it is wanted, a ſociety was formed with the modeſt name of Conſtitutional, where ſuch heads as thoſe of Brand Hollis, John Foreſt, Watkin Lewes, Braſs Croſby, and James Martin, are held up in the preſidentſhip as thoſe of the puppets in the ſtreet puppet-ſhows by ſome ſuch deſigning impoſtors as Horne Tooke and Thomas Paine.

While honeſt but fooliſh men are thus inſtigated, the country can never be at peace; and this is the very end and purpoſe of all American Crimps: for America is then contraſted with England, and artiſans are ſeduced to emigrate to their ruin.

This

This vain and ſilly ſociety, of which Paine is a member, has thanked Paine for his pamphlet, as a proper inſtrument or fire-brand of ſedition: i. e. Paine, by means of Horne Tooke, has thanked *himſelf*. He would not have been at the trouble, if he had known that the opinion of this body would damn the ſale of his pamphlet; and even this combination of ſtupidity would not have been duped by Paine and Tooke into the folly, if they had known that in France Paine lampoons them as uſing the name *Conſtitutional*, and at the ſame time diſtributing parts of pamphlets which aſſert the *Engliſh have no Conſtitution*.

To complete the folly, he ſhould procure John Horne Tooke, with whoſe views of ſedition and miſchief he ſo heartily accords, to manage a vote of thanks from the Revolution Society: for though Paine execrates the Revolution, his intentions and thoſe of the Revolution Society are the ſame. John Horne Tooke uſed to inſtigate a weak man, Major Cartwright, to do the deeds of danger and miſchief for him, by extolling his pamphlets, which are mere traſh, *as the beſt books ever written in any language:* he will clap Paine on the back in the ſame manner. But Horne has to do with an American, whoſe eſſence is deceit and perfidiouſneſs. Paine will iſſue the brands of ſed . n, but he will not ſtand the danger of them. Paine has no country and known place of reſidence:

none

none but the devil could ſeize him and bring him to the puniſhment due to his crimes. John Horne Tooke wants to bring Paine to the pillory; to occaſion a tumult, at the head of which he would put himſelf, and puſh the miſchief into the moſt abominable cruelties. But Paine fights ſhy; he ſwallows all the praiſes and compliments of the quondam prieſt: but if any ears are nailed to the pillory, it will be the ears of ſome poor devil of a printer, which Paine will leave in the lurch. Paine attended the American army too long, not to know the advantage of changing poſitions, and leaving the enemy at a loſs to gueſs at their lodgements and ſituations.

Parliament therefore will not be reformed by the opportunity given by a tumult to Horne Tooke to hang the Members that have offended him at the lamp-irons.

Parliament will not be reformed at the requeſt or impudent reproaches of American *crimps* and *ſpies*, who want to throw every thing into confuſion, that they may delude our manufacturers, in great numbers, into the woods and the miſeries of their American paradiſe.

Parliament will not be reformed at the command of ſelf-appointed ſocieties of reformers, whether revolution or conſtitutional; the major parts of which are Preſbyterians diſaffected to the Conſtitution in Church and State.

Parliament

Parliament will not be reformed to ſerve the purpoſes of an Oppoſition to poſſeſs the places of Miniſters.

The defects and errors introduced by age, the wear and tear of our admirable Conſtitution, will be repaired; when they are perceived by all the people of England; and when the people require it in orderly and general petitions, every thing will be granted, or rather every thing will be done.

SEC.

SECTION V.

The Church of England is not intolerant.

THE reader will perceive that more pains have been beſtowed on this ſection, than could be deſigned for any thing intended againſt the rhapſody of Mr. Thomas Paine.

Other and ſuperior writers, which the imprudence of Mr. Burke had drawn out, had advanced arguments on the ſubject which called for refutation; and this ſection was originally intended as a part of an anſwer to another work.

Mr. Paine plumes himſelf on having given a new turn to the queſtion of toleration, by conſidering it is a buſineſs between Government and the Deity, and not between Government and the People. This is in itſelf blaſphemous, and it will not at all apply to the church of England; which never interferes with private conſcience, or the mode by which individuals worſhip God; but only ordains that there ſhall be a national religion decently ſupported; and that thoſe clergymen

men who are employed by the ſtate ſhall profeſs one uniform doctrine.

The reaſons of this policy are ſo numerous, and have been ſo often repeated, that they would here appear impertinent—and indeed the advocates for univerſal toleration have long quitted the field of argument for the enumerations of example and authority; and they advance thoſe of Pruſſia, Holland, and America; but they forget, that in Pruſſia and in Holland there are eſtabliſhed religions; and that the religions not eſtabliſhed are only tolerated there in the ſame manner as the diſſenters are tolerated here.

In America there would have been an eſtabliſhed religion if the Quakers had not been the leading ſect; and in forming the federal union, it had been practicable to ſet one ſect above the other, without endangering the union.

In France, which is now offered as our model, the Roman Catholic religion is *eſtabliſhed*, and though it is decreed by the National Aſſembly that no man is to be moleſted for his opinions; yet no prieſts are to be *paid by* the public, but thoſe profeſſing the national religion.

The hardſhips complained of here by the Diſſenters, will therefore remain, *i. e.* they will be obliged to contribute towards the ſupport of a religion and a prieſthood, of which they do not approve; and their miniſters *i. e.* the miniſters of thoſe who diſſent from the national religion, will

not partake in the funds ſet apart by the Government for religious uſes.

It ſeems the Diſſenters of France are to be admitted into office: and it is averred with great probability, that the late petitions of the Diſſenters of England for the ſame privilege would have been granted, if the Diſſenters themſelves had not betrayed farther views; if they had not indecently tampered with and menaced candidates for the approaching Parliament.

Their views were ſaid to be, to have a place of education under their guidance, incorporated and made into an univerſity; and to have the power of conferring degrees, &c. &c.—becauſe the academical honors now purchaſed for their miniſters at the decayed Scottiſh univerſities, give them rank only with Quack Doctors, whoſe diploma's are had in the ſame manner, and come in the ſame bundles.

They alſo wiſh to have ſome allowance, which a few of their miniſters now have from Government, enlarged to the proportion of the allowance in Ireland; or to have ſome portion of the tithes allotted to them.

Theſe things ſhewed in time the dangerous views of ſectaries, which once overturned the Church and State; and the Engliſh Parliament very wiſely rejected their petition; as it led to others; and thoſe to others without end.

But as univerſal toleration is a part of the creed of modern philoſophy; and as modern philoſophy reſts

reſts its arguments on experience, and the practice of the moſt enlightened parts of antiquity, it may be proper to ſhew Mr. Thomas Paine, that the maſters of his maſters, the ancients; from whom the modern philoſophers ſteal, what Paine ſteals from them, have no ſuch opinions as are commonly aſcribed to them.

The Druids, who were heathen philoſophers, prohibited the diſcuſſion of religious and political ſubjects, but by thoſe of their own diſciples who adminiſtered them.

Socrates was accuſed to the Senate of Athens, the true anceſtors of the French and Engliſh philoſophers, in theſe terms, "Melytus, ſon of Me-"lytus, a Parthenian accuſes Socrates, ſon of "Sophroniſcus, an Alopeian—Socrates violates "the law, *not believing* the Deities which the *City* "*believeth*, but introducing new Gods, he vio-"lates the law likewiſe in corrupting Youth—"the puniſhment DEATH."

What would have become of Helvetius, Voltaire, Rouſſeau, David Hume, &c. &c. under the toleration of the ancients, of which they vaunt?

Concerning the ſtatue of Minerva by Phidias, Stilpo of Megara, aſked a man, whether Minerva the daughter of Jove was a God?—He anſwered in the affirmative. But this, ſaid he. looking at the ſtatue, is not of Jove, but the work of Phidias. The other aſſented. Then ſaid Stilpo, ſhe is not a God. Being called to account by the Areopagitæ he juſtified it; averring ſhe was not a

God, but a Goddeſs. The Areopagitæ, however, would not admit the evaſion; and he was baniſhed the city, in the true ſpirit of ancient and philoſophical toleration.

Ariſtotle was accuſed of impiety, for ſome philoſophical aſſertions, contrary to the religion of the Athenians, that he celebrated Hermius (his brother in law) as a God, with a hymn, and cauſed his ſtatue to be placed in the Delphian Temple with an honorable inſcription.—Some ſay he appeared before the Court of the Areopagus, others that he retired to Chalcis; and his friends aſking the reaſon, he ſaid, "We left Athens, "that the Athenians might not repeat the wick-"edneſs committed againſt Socrates, and be "guilty of a double crime againſt philoſophy."—*Laert. and Origen.*

Notwithſtanding the imprudent aſſertions of Voltaire and his diſciples, in all early ages, not excepting the moſt liberal of Greece and Rome, religious ſects and ſchiſms have been deemed dangerous to civil Government, the ſources of faction: they have produced private and intereſted combinations, and an oppoſition to the laws.

In modern times, all efforts to pull down the boundaries of eccleſiaſtical order have ended in the diſſolution of all authority.

At this time we are imitating the ſpirit of refinement and of innovation which rendered the times of Charles I. ſo calamitous and ſo diſgraceful. Every man is framing a model of a republic.

Every

Every man thinks himſelf capable of adjuſting a ſyſtem of religion. The *levellers* are again appearing: and if the principles now propagating could be eſtabliſhed, an aſſembly of Preſbyterian divines would again vote Preſbytery to be of *Divine Right.* *

It is ſaid, the ſectaries are more liberal and tolerant than formerly; but this is an error founded on the writings of a few who are actually Diſſenters from the great body of Diſſenters. With that body, the leaſt of Chriſt's truths are ſuperior to all worldly conſideration, and a full toleration to perſons of all opinions would be abominable to all true Diſſenters. They retain the ſpirit of the old Puritans, and maintain themſelves to be the only pure church, and that their principles and diſcipline ought to be eſtabliſhed, and that no other ought to be tolerated.

Indeed the philoſophers of modern times are not agreed and unanimous in their defence of univerſal toleration. Voltaire wiſhed not to be reſtrained himſelf; but he would have perſecuted the Encyclopidiſts whom he reckoned atheiſts. Mr. Hume is throughout his Hiſtory of England, an advocate for an eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment; and delineates that as almoſt without fault, which was ſettled at the Revolution. Rouſſeau has many juſt animadverſions on perſecution; but he ſays in his dogmatic way, "Draw up a few arti-"cles of univerſal religion, which may be called

* See Whitlock, page 106.

"if

" if you will, the humane and ſocial creed, and " which every perſon living in ſociety may be " obliged to receive; and if any one ſhould " ſpeak or write againſt it, he ſhould be *baniſhed* " *from ſociety*, as an enemy to its fundamental " laws."—*Rouſſeau's Letter to the Arch. of Paris.*

In ſhort, reaſon, authority, cuſtom, preſcription, every thing but the love of novelty and of dangerous experiment—plead with us, not to liſten to our treacherous adviſers, who would perſuade us to pull down the venerable fabric of our church eſtabliſhment, and lay open the country to the mad inroads of Fanatics and Levellers.

It is true, there are laws againſt Sectaries, which diſgrace our Statute books; but they are in effect obſolete. The church exerciſes juſt as much mild authority as is neceſſary for the preſervation of public decorum. Sectaries are left at liberty in fact, though they are not ſo in law; and the fear of a puniſhment which *might* be inflicted, reſtrains them from thoſe exceſſes into which they otherwiſe would run, and which might end in the diſſolution of all order and all government.

SEC-

SECTION VI.

Rights of Man.

THIS at preſent is a cant phraſe, which we have borrowed from the French, which in ſuch hands as the Abbé Sieyes and Mirabeau, is like the golden age of Homer and Virgil, a pleaſing deluſion—but when reaſoned upon, or applied to common life, it is of no uſe.

Mr. Thomas Paine, who is neither a Mirabeau nor a Virgil, deals only in coarſe and imprudent aſſertions. It is true, he talks about Adam, intending to prove that *Adam* was equal to himſelf

The Scripture is always a ſtalking horſe for any falſehood and perfidy of an American. If Paine had faithfully followed the Scripture hiſtory, which even his friend Horne Tooke will allow to be an ancient and reſpectable hiſtory, he would have found, that it accounts for the inequality of mankind, and immediately buries the rights of man in the obligations of ſociety.

But

But before the inſtitution of ſociety, what is man? and what are his rights? The French and Engliſh Philoſophers have inſtructed Mr. Thomas Paine, and he is willing to inſtruct the fiſh-women of France and England——that they are born with certain powers which God intended and gave them a right to uſe. One of theſe is the faculty of propagation, in which man is exceeded by rabbits and cats.

Another is ſtrength, in which he is exceeded by a lion or tyger.

Another is addreſs and contrivance, in which probably he has no rival.

Now, if the powers conferred by God are the foundation of right—how comes it that the dominion of the earth is not in the lion? How comes it that the whole earth is not occupied by rabbits or cats?

Why? Becauſe addreſs and cunning prevail over the ſtrength and faculty of propogation.

Man, at firſt a ſolitary ſavage, lives by practiſing his cunning againſt the ſtrength of other animals, and every moment of his life is ſuſtained by a *violation of their rights.*

So that a declaration of the rights of dogs, cats, rabbits, ſheep, bullocks, &c. &c. would have articles in it as juſt, and as affecting, as any that can be offered by man.

Man enters into ſociety—why? to carry on the plan of depredation and the *violation of rights*, againſt

againſt the other animals, with more ſecurity and leſs chance of puniſhment.

Here ſuperior ſagacity and ſuperior ſtrength take place of ſtupidity and weakneſs, and give riſe to a diſtinction of ranks, orders, and families —and they make the *Rights of Man* to be wholly the proviſions and conventions of ſociety.

If we conſult the Bible, of which Mr. Thomas Paine and Mr. Horne Tooke are very fond, when it ſerves any of their ſeditious purpoſes, we ſhall find, that a difference aroſe in the condition of the children of Adam from the difference of their characters.

Cain murdered Abel, and Cain and his poſterity were accurſed, and doomed to ſervitude under the power of the poſterity of Abel.

This with atheiſtic witlings is conſidered as a harſh meaſure, and they arraign the Deity on the ſcore of it with their uſual impudence and profaneneſs. But profaneneſs and impudence are the effects of ignorance.

The Eaſtern languages, the dictionaries and lexicons of ſome of which may be known to Horne Tooke; the Eaſtern languages expreſs a natural and neceſſary effect as the ordinance of God.

Vices are *hereditary* from the neceſſary effects of *tranſmitted* conſtitutions, united with the *tranſmitted* force of cuſtoms, example, and education. Vices produce an inferiority and ſubjection which end in ſervitude and ſlavery. *Hereditary vices* therefore produce *hereditary ſlavery*; and the denunciation

nunciation of Scripture is only the declaration of a fact. If America had continued its connection with Great Britain, it would not, it could not have been on terms of equality; and for the ſame reaſons that we ſhall not think it required by juſtice or good policy, to admit the inhabitants of Botany Bay, or their deſcendants, to be on a footing with Britiſh ſubjects.

Virtues and vices have produced *inequalities* in the immediate deſcendants of Adam; the *rights* of the poſterity of Cain, and the *rights* of the poſterity of Abel, became quite *different* things; and the diſtinction of rulers and ruled, governors and governed, ſoon took place.

The firſt governments were patriarchal; the authority of the patriarch extended over the tribe; but the patriarch was never appointed or elected by the tribe; nor was the *conſtitution* of his government prepared by the deliberations and wiſdom of his people.

In the government of the children of Iſrael under the immediate direction of God himſelf, all diſcretionary powers are given to elders, wiſe men and learned; never to aſſemblies and deputations of the people.

And when the government of God ceaſed, the authority was given to Kings, High Prieſts, Councils of Elders, &c.—and no intimations are given, that it is the will of God, that the wiſe and the fooliſh, the good and the bad, ſhould be

equal,

equal, or that ignorance, folly, and vice, ſhould *dictate* and *preſcribe* the terms and manner in which they ſhould be governed.

This claim was never made by any people of any country: it has been always made for them by ambitious men, who wiſhed to overturn the eſtabliſhed governments becauſe they could not obtain the places of diſtinction and profit under them; and who hoped in the general confuſion attending the formation of new governments, to ſeize on ſome valuable and important poſts. The people in general in every country feel their incapacity for political deliberations and the management of public affairs, and they naturally look up to the great proprietors of land, and to men of education and leiſure, to take theſe provinces to themſelves. Theſe proprietors and theſe perſons of leiſure and education, whether clergy or laity, have an intereſt in the ſtudy and in the honourable practice of the ſcience of policy; and though ſome of them will, through ignorance and bad paſſions, oppreſs their laborious inferiors, the folly brings with it its own puniſhment, in the depopulation and waſte or barrenneſs of their property.

It is the intereſt of ſociety that employments ſhould be divided according to the neceſſary differences of ſituation; and the *rights of men* are as different as thoſe of ſituations.

The *rights of the peaſantry* are to a comfortable ſubſiſtence, and the means of rearing and ſupporting

porting a hardy and laborious family. All beyond this does them an injury.

The rights of the mechanic and artiſt are proper and juſt returns for their ingenuity; if they have more, their ingenuity is loſt, for they become gentlemen without education or qualification for the duties of gentlemen.

The rights of the proprietors of lands are to the fruits of thoſe lands after the maintenance of the peaſantry, mechanics, artiſts, &c. which are employed on them.

The rights of all from government are protection, ſecurity, and equal juſtice.

Theſe are the RIGHTS OF MAN: and as long as various talents and characters will neceſſarily divide men into various claſſes, and convert them into various uſes, their rights will ever remain various.

Profane as well as ſacred hiſtory will prove the truth of this opinion. All the early and great empires of the Eaſt were monarchical; and the councils of the prince and the offices of his government and army were appointed either by him or by perſons entitled by their reputed wiſdom and actual education to the privilege of adviſing him; never by the election of the common people.

In the Weſt and North, the forms of government have been almoſt innumerable, but they have never proceeded from the rights and claims

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and deliberations of the common people. They have proceeded from ſome ſource of wiſdom and prudence, real or pretended; never from neceſſary and acknowledged ignorance and folly.

The phantaſies of the Greeks produced many efforts at republicaniſm; but they never ſucceeded. The government of Athens was ſometimes by the mob of the city; ſometimes by the heads of tribes; ſometimes by the commanders of armies; but never by the common people of Attica.

The government of Sparta was a violent and cruel ariſtocracy.

Rome, which added the philoſophy of Greece to its own ſtock, was governed by a ſenate and its clients, the inhabitants of the city, who ſometimes got the better of their maſters: but it never entered the brain of the wildeſt projector of Rome, to include all the people of the provinces in the deliberations and actions of its government.

This extravagance was reſerved for modern times; and it is one of the *novelties* by which modern philoſophers and their attendant adventurers want to ſmooth their way to rank and power.

The colonies of America were planted, and the forms of their governments preſcribed, by the will of the King and Council of England: and yet America has juſtified its rebellion; and it aſſerts its preſent claims to liberty from pretences founded on *the Rights of Man.*

In

In France, the ſame philoſophical cant is made uſe of to lull the people into acquieſcence, until the property and power of the nobles and eccleſiaſtics have paſſed into the hands of new people, the literati, the philoſophers, &c. then it will be ſeen that the rights of the peaſantry, of mechanics, and of all ranks, are juſt as they have been defined above, and that the country has endured the alarms and injuries of a revolution only to change maſters.

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SECTION VII.

Concluſion.

IT has been the intention of the former Sections, to repreſent *things as they are.* The invectives of Mr. Burke againſt the Revolution in France, are as illiberal, unjuſt, and impertinent, as the invectives of Mr. Paine againſt the Revolution in England.

There is this difference, however; Mr. Burke wiſhes to prevent the evils of anarchy from reaching this iſland, and Mr. Paine wiſhes to introduce them.

To prevent the evils, Mr. Burke overcharges the deſcription of them; and to introduce them, Dr. Price, Mr. Horne Tooke, Mr. Paine, and other firebrands of ſedition, diſguiſe and cover them.

With

With the ſame view Mr. Burke extols the Engliſh Conſtitution as ſomething ſupernatural; and though our internal enemies are agreed in their object to introduce confuſion under the name of reformation, yet they differ in the things to be reformed. Dr. Price, Horne Tooke, and the Revolution Society, profeſs the principles of the Revolution as their creed; they repreſent the veſſel of the ſtate, as ſound in its principal timbers, but having ſome dangerous leaks. The author of the *Leſſons to a Prince*, by diagrams as treaſonable as they are falſe, diſtinguiſhes between our conſtitution and our government, and pretends to demonſtrate, *we have no Conſtitution at all.* Paine repeats the aſſertion without argument and without proof; unleſs by proving that our Conſtitution is not exactly like that of France, he would have us conlude we have no Conſtitution at all.

It is clearly proved in the foregoing ſections, that we are in poſſeſſion of a Conſtitution; which, though not ſo ſacred and ſupernatural as that which is preſented by Mr. Burke, is not in a ſtate to want the tinkering hands of Richard Price, John Horne Tooke, Joſeph Prieſtley, and the diſaffected ſectaries; and it is not a phantom, a non-entity, as aſſerted by the ſelf-appointed inſtructor of the Prince, and the *philanthropic* American Crimp.

Will

Will the PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, therefore, ſo far forget their character of ſobriety and good ſenſe, as to ſuffer themſelves to be miſled to a precipice from which they cannot retreat?

Will they throw away a bleſſing, which has long been the admiration of the world; which the profound Monteſquieu and the learned Blackſtone have ſo nobly explained, on the credit of Atheiſts and madmen?

The projects of new governments which are now floating in the brains of viſionaries, are principally owing to the reveries of Plato, David Hume, and of John James Rouſſeau, and the diſciples are as unprincipled and as mad as their maſters. Are we therefore to leave the bleſſings we enjoy, and *to fly to evils that we know not of*, on the ſuggeſtions and opinions of ſuch men? Where are their pledges from their property or poſſeſſions in the country? If ſome of them may be ſuppoſed to have an intereſt in England; this is not the caſe of the writer more immediately under conſideration: for the patriotiſm of Thomas Paine is exactly of the ſame deſcription with that of John the Painter.

In a matter of ſo much magnitude, as a change of your civil conſtitution, take advice, O Britons! of your *Reaſon;* and not of thoſe paſſions, which are rouſed by low invectives and malignant lampoons. Examine well the ancient ſtructure which has ſo long and ſo comfortably

ſheltered you, and do not demoliſh it raſhly. If time and the wickedneſs of ſome of your governors have occaſioned ſome dilapidations, the injuries may be ſoberly and deliberately remedied, without endangering the whole.

If the Houſe of Lords is not guarded with proper dignity, repreſent the abuſes ſoberly and firmly, and they will be redreſſed.

If the Biſhops are more men of the world than men of God; if they arrive at their dignities by mean and unworthy intrigues, and if they diſcharge their duties negligently: if the property of the church is unworthily and ſhamefully divided; and if religion ſuffers by the miſconduct of one part, and the ſufferings of the other part of its miniſters—be loud and frequent, but be ſober and decent, in your expoſtulations on this ſubject and you will undoubtedly be heard.

If you think more of you ſhould partake in the right of electing Members of Parliament, prevail with populous towns, ſuch as Birmingham and Mancheſter, to petition for the right, and it will no doubt be granted. If abuſes have crept into elections, or into the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons—let them be openly and fairly repreſented, and not mixed with the ſlander and calumnies of ſpies, and they will probably be removed.

Whatever may be ſuppoſed an occaſion of grievance, you have a legal and orderly method of

of obtaining redreſs, without taking the advice of Libellers. They ſeek only miſchief to your country, in order to ſerve another. When anarchy and miſery have taught you reaſon, and you have diſtinguiſhed between your friends and your foes, it will be too late to ſave or to ſerve you.

That the moſt miſchievous purpoſes of ſedition are not attributed without reaſon to the reformers of the preſent day, and their libellous inſtruments, will be very evident to all the thinking inhabitants of this country, if they recollect the private and public proceedings of the religious and civil ſectaries for the laſt ten years.

The Diſſenters have allied themſelves to all diſaffected parties, to weaken the hands of the exiſting Government. They aſſiſted in demoliſhing the *Coalition*, more from the love of demoliſhing power, than from patriotiſm; for the preſent Adminiſtration had not been in office many months before it experienced their ill offices. In all national queſtions they interfere with hoſtility, while their divines abuſe the liberty of the preſs in the moſt ſhameful manner, by conſtantly and indecently aſſaulting the doctrines and diſcipline of the eſtabliſhed church. Nay, they proceed to maim and mutilate the holy Scriptures, and blaſpheme the dignity and divine character of their Saviour, and yet impudently maintain they are the only true and genuine Chriſtians; that

they

they ought not only to be tolerated, but to be countenanced and eſtabliſhed.

In the diſputes of parties, they are always ready to aſſiſt the moſt dangerous and the moſt miſchievous. And when the revolution in France took place, inſtead of waiting decently for the completion of the event, they wiſhed to ſpread the miſchiefs accompanying it to England, in order to profit by them. Hence their proceedings in the Revolution Society, and on the 14th of July; and hence their zealous ſupport of Libels and Libellers.

Almoſt all the anſwers to Mr. Burke's intemperate and injudicious publication have received their active ſupport and countenance; but none more than the libel of Paine. It is written in the ſpirit of puritanic malignity, and the language is the familiar, indecent ſlang, of the conventicle. They read with avidity the indecent abuſe of royalty, rank, and order; and they open ſubſcriptions in ſeveral parts of the country, to aſſiſt in diffuſing the poiſon.

In the Society impudently calling itſelf *Conſtitutional*, they are the active members; and here they ſcruple not to aſſociate with men of the known principles and characters of Richard Brinſley Sheridan and of John Horne Tooke. They adopt and aſſiſt the projects of the latter, though their avowed object is the revenge of his private diſappointments: for Horne Tooke has flattered Lord Landſdowne, the Americans, Mrs. Fitzherbert,

Mr.

Mr. Pitt, and the French National Aſſembly; but he has made no impreſſion to his own profit on any mind but that of old William Tooke, who muſt compenſate to him the wrongs and diſappointments of which he ſo frequently and bitterly complains. There is no miſchief for which this man is not ready, indeed he declares himſelf ſo; and watches occaſions to produce diſturbance and commotion. It is fortunate, that his credit with the people is very low; but it is diſgraceful to the Diſſenters to employ ſuch an inſtrument.

In the advertiſements, puffs, and ſtratagems, to diffuſe the inflammatory farrago of Paine, Horne Tooke has been much employed. Indeed he conſiders it as partly his own; as he is ſaid to have corrected ſome of the numerous offences againſt grammar with which it abounded, and to have given point to ſome of the Billingſgate oratory from which alone any effect from it is hoped.

This having failed, and the libel ſinking faſt into oblivion and contempt, the next project is for the enſuing 14th of July, when the new ſect of the Catholic Diſſenters are invited to join the Puritanic; and if a ſect of infernals could be obtained they would alſo be invited. Rejoicing in the Liberty of France is the pretence, but confuſion and miſchiefs are the objects.

It is hoped the *good People of England* will be warned againſt the inceſſant and unwearied machinations of theſe domeſtic foes.

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We ſeem to be on the eve of a war, and it is not uncommon with them to take the part of the public enemy. They adopted all the views of Americans, from pretence of regard to liberty, but from a real deſire to harraſs government. They have ſought in every part of the French Revolution ſome occaſion to diſturb the peace of England; and in a few months we may poſſibly ſee them in the intereſt of the Empreſs of Ruſſia.

Let no ſuch men be heeded. Engliſhmen can judge of their ſituation and intereſts, without the new lights of diſaffected ſectaries, without the information of American crimps, or the plauſible conceits of philoſophic Atheiſts. Let them conſult their reaſon and their religion, and they will learn to value their peculiar privileges; to be thankful to God for them; to improve them to the beſt purpoſes; to correct any abuſes that may have taken place in them; and to tranſmit them unimpaired to their poſterity.

THE END.

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